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pation of the children varies according to their sex. The girls from about ten on help their mothers in the gardens. The boys wander around the village, playing and taking care of their younger sisters and brothers. If there is any fishing, they stand about on the fringe looking on, as they do also in housebuilding or any other occupation. A slightly older boy assists his father in work connected with the gardens, when his help is needed.

The women, and men too, if they have gone to the gardens, return to the village in the early afternoon, usually about two o'clock. This varies, and occasionally they come back at noon, or sometimes late afternoon, about four or five o'clock. They arrive back hot, dusty, and tired, and immediately bathe in the sea, coming out cleansed and refreshed. Both men and women wear their loin-cloths when they go into the sea and put on dry ones when they come out. There are no separate bathing-places for the sexes, but as a matter of practice the two sexes never bathe very near each other at the same time. After bathing they perform the toilet of the day, combing their hair and powdering it with white lime. If they feel so inclined they may add some facial decoration; painting a yellow ring around one eye is a favourite style. Then, if they are hungry, there is a piece of cold baked taro in the house, left over from the day before.

Now come the preparations for the evening meal, mostly the woman's task and usually done communally by the members of one hamlet or two neighbouring ones. Occasionally, if they have returned late from the gardens, the cooking is done individually. The women scrape the taro and the men bring in the firewood and the leaves and make the *liga*, a pile of hot stones, in which the food is baked. If it is an ordinary meal and no fish or animal is to be baked, the men are not very busy and look after the babies, or stroll about chatting with each other. The women work seriously,

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433 the face. Brightly coloured birds give their plumage for headdresses, but are not considered as food. Snakes used [262] to be eaten, but to-day are not used as food.[1] There is a species of phalanger which is occasionally eaten and whose teeth are used for necklaces. The wild pig is highly valued as food, and it or its domesticated brother is necessary for a big feast. So to the native the bush is not only a dark, mysterious place, peopled with his doubles, the *gas*, and occasionally with ghosts, or the place where he goes for his extra-marital intercourse, but it is primarily a very intimate and essential part of his world, from which he gets many of the necessary resources both for his everyday and ritual life. That the bush could give him much more does not occur to him. The paucity of his material culture and diet, compared to other Oceanic peoples in a similar environment, merely indicates that the New Irelander has not made full use of the natural resources at hand.

433 The sea, too, he views from its practical aspects. Out of it come the fish which are an important part of his food 262 supply. On the reefs are the crabs and shellfish which form a welcome variation in the diet. The turtle is a rarer delicacy, and has two uses: its internal organs are highly prized as a food, and from its shell is made the design on the breast ornament (*kepkep*) and fish-hooks. The shark provides an exciting occupation and an occasional variation in diet. Once a year there emerges from the sea a special worm, the *beta*, the catching of which is a ritual occasion, and it, too, is a welcome delicacy. The water from the sea, filtered somewhat as it bubbles up through a hole on the sandy beach, is, with the fresh coconut milk, the only other drink the natives have.

515 The sea to the native is not only the source of part of his food, but is his bath-tub and finger-bowl as well. When he

[1] The missions have said that the snake is evil, because of its actions in the original garden of Paradise, and so it is not to be eaten.

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returns from the gardens, hot and tired, it is into the sea that he first plunges; after a feast, it is in the sea that he washes his hands. The sea, however, is not just purely utilitarian. It is a frolicing place for both children and adults. The children play in the shallow water just off the reefs, and the adults, a bit further out, lie on the crest of a wave and know the fun of being carried out on it. Lastly, to the native, the sea is a pleasing picture to gaze upon as he sits on the beach.

OWNERSHIP OF RESOURCES

Since from the land and sea come the means of livelihood, the ownership of them is important. There are two kinds of ownership of land, or rather two kinds of land. The clan or *tsinanis* land, on which dwell certain clan animals and the *gas*, has already been mentioned; then there is the remainder of the land, which does not belong to the clan but to the village. The clan land, owned communally by members of the clan, covers only a very small area. From the view-point of economic resources it is the village land which is the most significant. The village stretches for three or four miles along the cleared ground by the sea, and extending inward five or six miles from it is the bush, all of which, with the exception of the clan land, is owned communally by the people of the village. A man and wife may plant their garden wherever there is any uncultivated ground, and there is much to choose from. But they will, if possible, plant the ground that had previously been planted by their parents, and where they had worked in their youth assisting them. If a husband and wife are from the same village they may have gardens on both their parents' ground, provided the ground is fairly close together. If a choice had to be made it would fall on the land formerly planted by the wife's parents. If the man comes from another village, it is, of course, the plot formerly used by his wife's parents which they now

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than usual.[1] For a month before the appearance of the *beta* the children play a game called *tipuli*, which is almost the exact equivalent of our tug-of-war. The "rope" is a heavy vine from the bush, and the children at each end pull until one side gives way. A few nights before the *beta* is expected the adults also engage in this game, playing it a bit more seriously than the children, for whom it sometimes becomes a frolic. The natives say that the game symbolizes the pulling in of the *beta* from the sea.[2]

The *beta* was sighted by a young girl who, with other children, was on the reef that night looking for shell-fish. She cried out that the *beta* had come, and immediately there was much excitement. Everyone, men and women, rushed to the beach and out to the reef with their baskets, where they stayed for several hours gathering in the *beta*. When finally all the worms had been gathered in the baskets, everyone went to bed exhausted. But at daybreak they were up and bathing in the sea. They said that if they did not bathe in the sea after taking in the *beta*, their bodies would be marked with rings similar to those on the *beta*. On this occasion they should have bathed the night before, as soon as they finished getting in the *beta*, but they were too tired then, and had gone directly to bed, postponing the bathing until daybreak.[3]

The day following the catching of the *beta* was a busy one.

[1] The same marine annelid is found in other parts of the Pacific, particularly in the Samoan, Tongan, and Fijian groups. In Fiji it is called the *mbalolo*, and is found in October or November. These two months take their names from it, October being known as *Little Mbalolo*, and November as *Great Mbalolo*. Thompson, Basil, *The Fijians*, 1928. London, Wm. Heineman, pp. 324–327.

In a similar way at Lesu the names for certain months take their name from the *beta* (see p. 290).

[2] Because the *beta* appeared earlier than expected, the adults had not played the game of *tipuli*, and the children had only been playing it for four days.

[3] Ambwa, the next village, had no *beta*, for no one had sighted it. Having come a month earlier than expected, they had no look-out for it.

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832 [587] died she married a fairly mature man. She added that she liked him, too.

The firmness of a woman's breasts is much stressed. The breasts are uncovered, and so are very obvious. A middle-aged woman's breasts which hang loosely are not objects of beauty by any aesthetic standards.

832 302 The hair, which is kinky and stands out from the head, is an important factor in beauty, and much time and attention are put on it. The natural colour of the hair is black, but it is very rarely that it is seen in this colour. It is the universal custom for both sexes of all ages to "paint" their hair with powdered white lime, and the result is a great variety in shades of tan, depending on when it was last "painted." [1] The hair is frequently combed, and if a native wants to make himself particularly attractive he spends hours on his hair, combing, "painting" it, etc. A flower behind the ear, a wreath of leaves around the head, are all considered adornments.[2] Practically everyone has lice, and [515] looking for each other's lice is a never-ending pastime between friends. A bald-headed man is considered an object [142] of ridicule and very ugly. He is a most unusual type, and there were none in Lesu. I had for a short time a Papuan cook-boy who was bald. He tried to seduce some of the village women, but without success. They all laughed at him, and mocked him openly for his baldness. He was also short, another point not in his favour. He finally took to boasting of his conquests on other islands where he had worked, but this, too, left the village belles untouched. Women prefer clean-shaven men to bearded ones. In the

[1] For many of the ritual dances the hair is "painted" red or blue. A few of the more sophisticated natives who have been to Rabaul have learned the whitening effect of peroxide, and use it whenever they can procure it.

[2] I gave them some tinsel (Christmas-tree decoration) and gaily coloured crêpe paper. Both were immediately put around the hair in the fashion of a crown and were much in demand.

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stones, and when these are hot they are leveled and the food put between them. Leaves and sand are then put over it, and the food remains there until it is baked. Men are working in groups of two or three, but not very continuously, wrapping a fish or a pig in leaves preparatory to baking, or bringing in leaves from the bush to wrap around the food. Their work in this connection is never as steady as the women's work. A man may tend to the liga and then loll around for a half hour or more, until there is something else to do. Frequently the men will take care of the babies, while the mothers scrape the taro. The main work of cooking falls upon the women; although the men do assist, this does not break into the sexual division of labor.

When the women have finished preparing the taro (for a big feast this takes at least three or four hours), and after it has been placed in the liga, the ground on which they have been working is cleaned and they take their ease. Until now they have been working seriously and without stopping, except perhaps to nurse a baby. There has been no talking except for the necessary remarks about the taro. Now they sit in the same place smoking their pipes and chatting. Gossip is exchanged, jokes are told and followed with appreciative laughter, and here and there a woman is engaged in the pastime of searching for lice in a friend's or relative's hair. If a woman of the village has just become pregnant, there will be playful fighting between the women of the opposite moieties. This part of the pregnancy rites occurs whenever there is a group of women present. The men in the meantime are a short distance away, on the beach, in the compound in front of the men's house or some other house, in groups of two or three, smoking and chatting but not in any large group. This period—while the food is baking in the liga—is an easy, convivial, feminine communal occasion, as is the eating which follows for the men.

Description of Feast

Three or four hours later, when the food has been baked, the men and boys carry it in their hands into the cemetery. For the men the cemetery serves as a banqueting hall and most of the men's ritual feasts are held there.[11] Women are never permitted in the cemetery for a feast, or at any other time, except at a burial, and then they leave immediately after the interment.[12]

[11] The economic feasts in payment to workers are not always held in the cemetery, and the malanggon ones are held in a special structure erected for them. The connection of eating in the cemetery with mortuary beliefs must be considered at another time.

[12] However, I was invited to all the feasts, and the invitations were always accepted.

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537 which he walked up and down singing and talking. He gave once more the
574 reason for the feast, said they had now "marked" all the pigs, and then made a few more remarks about the size of the animals and the number of men present.

[285] Finally, each man makes a rude coconut-leaf basket in which he carries
574 home the remains of his food. But before they leave, the men carefully
764 clean the cemetery and throw all debris into the sea, near which the cemetery is always placed. Not a scrap of food nor any other refuse, such as a leaf "plate," remains, the cemetery being left in the same neat condition
[515] that it was in before the feast. This work done, hands are washed in the sea (the sea as a finger bowl is one of its many uses for the native), and then the men drift away singly or in small groups, each carrying his basket with the remains of the food.

Reciprocity Between Moieties

437 This ritual feast, held on all occasions of importance to the individual or
616 to society, is also frequently the time when the principle of reciprocity be-
574 tween both moieties and localities is seen in full play.

At the feminine feasts, such as pregnancy, birth, first menstruation, and marriage, where there is a distribution of food, the women of the Eagle moiety bring taro which is given to the women of the Hawk moiety, and the women of the Hawk moiety likewise bring taro which in turn is given to the women of the Eagle moiety. This exchange is never omitted. The Eagle women bring their taro, prepare it for baking, and then place it in the liga themselves. They do not forget just where their bundles have been placed. Removing them from the liga, they give them to the women of the Hawk moiety, who do likewise to the women of the Eagle moiety. The taro is of course all exactly the same and prepared in the same fashion, so that one gets exactly what one has given. But it is the ritual exchange between the moieties that is important. At some feasts uncooked taro is exchanged. At the feast, when the men eat, this act of reciprocity does not take place among them: the food is opened up in the cemetery and the taro is distributed regardless of moiety.

Reciprocity Between Villages

437 It is the uncooked taro that is most often the object of exchange be-
574 tween the women of different villages at intervillage feasts—usually mor-
621 tuary and malanggon ones. Sometimes the exchange does not always take place at the one feast. The women of Lesu may go to a feast at Ambwa, three miles away, and receive much taro. At a later time the women of Ambwa will come to a similar feast at Lesu and receive taro as a return gift.